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# The Southern PATRIOT

Volume 2 | Nashville, Tennessee, June, 1944 | Number 6

## Klan Not Dissolved, Only Decentralized Miami Author Claims

The "disbandment" of the Ku Klux Klan, reported June 3rd by the Atlanta Journal, which quoted Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott as saying that on April 23 the order's constitutional laws were suspended and charters of local dens revoked, does not mean that the Klan has been dissolved, but only that its Invisible Empire has been decentralized, with each den now on an autonomous basis.

Although Colescott declared that he did not regard the reasons for the move as "a subject for discussion outside the Klan," it doubtless came as a result of a recent interest shown by the Department of Justice and NLRB in the wartime activities of the KKK, and was intended to divorce the Wizard and other Imperial officers from responsibility for incipient outbreaks of Klan violence.

When Walter Winchell reported earlier that the Klan had been disbanded but would likely continue under a new name, I wrote Colescott for a statement for inclusion in my forthcoming book "The Four Freedoms Down South."

"The Klan did not dissolve nor has it assumed any new name," the Wizard replied on May 4. "This can be verified by writing the Fulton County Court as the charter is still here in existence. I might add we have no intention of dissolving the Klan."

This statement was subsequently reinforced by Colescott's assertion to the Atlanta Journal that "This does not mean that the Klan is dead. We have authority to meet and reincarnate at any time."

(Continued on Page 2.)

The pants can wait, Sam—
I gotta register first.

## The South In Postwar America

### *By Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt*

What will be the position of the South in the period after the war? I am not an economist, but it seems to me that there are certain essential factors which enter into the post-war situation.

First, the freight rate differential must disappear. There is no justification for one part of this country to struggle under discrimination in transportation rates.

Second, I think that we must forget the War Between the States. The present war, a war in which men from the north and the south have fought side by side, of greater magnitude than any war which this country has ever before been through, should serve to bring to a great many young men a better understanding of each other and their families should follow suit.

**High Wages Make Better Markets**

Southern economy in the past has been based on the theory that low paid labor could bring prosperity, but when you become more industrialized you realize that better paid labor creates a better market for your goods. The era of the low standard of living and low labor costs is probably rapidly drawing to an end. This will probably affect the whole situation in the south.

For some time past agricultural experts have been preaching that there would have to be a change in the treatment of the land in our southern states. The land can not support the number of people that have lived on it in the past. Gradually the one crop areas are changing under expert guidance but it will take some time to bring back misused land. More and more of the large families in the southern rural areas are swelling the population of the cities and the northern areas. Employers of industrial workers are apt to insist upon a higher educational level so there will be equalization of educational opportunity for the children of the south. This is one of the changes that I think is bound to come about. With increased industrialization, increased attention will have to be given to recreation for both young and old and we are apt to find all the things which have seemed most important to other parts of the country assuming a greater importance in the south.

**Community Planning**

A very large number of men from the south are in our Armed Forces and therefore the south is apt to have a very large number of returning soldiers. These men have idealized in the long, hard months of the war, the homes they left behind and their jobs if they already have held them and they are going to expect to do better in the future. I think it will be the part of wisdom if every community in the country begins to plan now to see that these boys are satisfied when they get home.

**Federal Aid**

It will require Federal aid, but the plans will have to be made in every individual community. They will have to find out if the boys desire further preparation before entering on a job, or whether they

(Continued on Page 2.)

# The South In Postwar America

(Continued from Page 1.)

are ready at once to take a job and feel themselves a part of the community. Much of what these boys have learned should be turned to the advantage of the community as a whole. They know the value of team work and they can be a very important part in the development of new plants in any community.

**Free Enterprise**

If we are to preserve our system of free enterprise we must recognize the need for cooperative planning. The south has tended in the past to lean toward isolationism, a position which has been forced upon it to some degree by the rest of the country. Certain restrictions can now be removed. This attitude of isolationism must also change and we as a whole must do away with some of our regional outlook in view of the need for national and international thinking.

I have heard it said often of late that we were fooling our people in trying to give them the hope that the after-the-war period would bring better conditions than had existed after the last war. It seems to me that people forget what happened to us. After the last war there was a period when free enterprise was left in the hands of a few selfish people and it degenerated into a wild boom of short time prosperity and then a period of such serious deflation that it took drastic measures to pull us out of the tail spin of depression.

**"To Many People More Things"**

This time we must control the few selfish people in the interests of the many, and by some business devices create, not a desire on the part of people for more concentrated wealth, but an ability to distribute to many people more things. Better disposition of national wealth is essential to the prosperity of the south as well as to the rest of the country. We have found government help essential to free enterprise in converting the country to a war machine. We will probably find it essential to us in reconverting the country to a peace time basis and the statesmen of the south know this as well as do those of any other section of the country.

**"We Are One Nation"**

The recognition by the country as a whole that we are one nation and that our prosperity must be distributed equally, will make the post-war period in the south a period of widening horizons and greater opportunity.

# Klan Not Dissolved

(Continued from Page 1.)

The entire proceeding was precedented in 1869, when the Klan's first Wizard, Nathan Bedford Forrest, fearful of Federal prosecution for treason, issued an edict abolishing the Klan "forever." Instead of obeying the edict, the local dens grew more violent, some of them assuming new names such as "The Pale Faces," the "White Brotherhood," and the "Knights of the White Camelia."

Colescott's reference to his authority to "reincarnate" the Klan also harks back to a precedent, when in 1915 the Klan was reincarnated by its second Wizard, William Joseph Simmons, who capitalized upon Post-World War frictions by enlisting a claimed 5,100,000 Klansmen throughout the country. Their deeds of violence led to a Congressional investigation in 1921, and when it was revealed what a handsome initiation fee rakeoff was garnered by officials, the Klan declined in popularity.

Its resurgence dates from 1932, when Colescott succeeded Hiram K. Evans as Imperial Wizard. While professing opposition to all forms of intimidation, Colescott has sanctioned Klan parades through Negro districts, the publication of "want ads" for Klansmen ("There Is Work To Do!"), and the distribution of intimidatory leaflets ("The KKK Is watching you!") on the eve of NLRB elections, etc.

For some time, however, there have been unmistakable signs of restiveness within the Invisible Empire against Colescott's mild form of restraint, with the Wizard himself admitting that state kleagles have accused him of "selling out to the Jews." Most ominously, Nightshirt Charlie Speer, former Michigan kleagle, has led Detroit Klansmen out of the Invisible Empire and into the more terroristic United Sons of America; while in Atlanta the recently organized Fact Finders have verbally attacked both Negroes and Jews, and charged the Klan with "laying down on the job."

Moreover, the warnings by some Southern governors and Congressmen that "ways and means" will be found to keep the Democratic Party lily-white in the South (despite the Supreme Court decision admitting Negroes to Texas Democratic primaries), are further evidence of the powerful forces impelling Klansmen to unlawful violence.

STETSON KENNEDY.

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Only 16 Representatives voted against the gift of ¼ to ½ billion dollars annually to the railroads (see p. 7). "Where were the Southern Congressmen that day? How many were AWOL?" asks an editorial in the Raleigh *News and Observer*. "The railroads are getting lush rich out of war business and gifts to them and imposition of larger taxes on the people are indefensible."

* * *

Congressman Wirt Courtney of Tennessee thinks the Dies Committee "has done a whole lot of good." Evidently the ranking member of the Dies Committee is not aware that the voters of Alabama, Texas and California recently rendered their verdict on the Committee by retiring their representatives on that most un-American Committee, an action in which the voters of the nation will concur.

* * *

Commenting on the parting promise of Martin Dies to "expose cabinet officials and high government officers," an editorial in the Raleigh *News and Observer* predicts, "It will be a dud like nearly all else that has emanated from this $625,000 waste of public money."

* * *

Thirty states including 5 in the South have laws requiring doctors to make blood tests for syphilis as part of the regular examination of expectant mothers. The 8 Southern states which do not have such a law are Tex., Ark., Miss., Ala., Tenn., Fla., S. C., Va.

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In a 4-2 decision the Ala. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Bradford Act, anti-labor bill passed by the 1943 legislature; however, the court struck down several sections of the law including one which would prevent strikes except on a majority vote of employees, and another prohibiting union or employer organizations' contributions to political campaigns.

# 'Cotton Ed' Smith - Polltaxer Spokesman For 'The Noisy South'

When the returns were in from the South Carolina primary, that September night in 1938, and it was disclosed that Ellison DuRant Smith had been nominated for a fifth term as United States Senator—over the opposition of Gov. Olin Johnston AND President Roosevelt—the old Senator and a large crowd of cronies donned red shirts and marched down to the statue of Wade Hamilton on the capital grounds in Columbia, there to exult in the victory of Southern rights over carpetbagger domination, and of White Supremacy.

It was the red shirts that intrigued many an observer. They were the ritual "bloody shirts" of an old order, instinctively donned on this occasion of triumph and defiance. Is it true that colored shirts—black, brown, silver or red—go naturally with a state of mind, an assumption of "difference" and superiority, a class and caste apart from the mass?

**Handouts Help Privileged, Ruin Needy**

The next day came another revealing episode. A visiting newspaperman was regaled by the triumphant Senator with tirades against boondoggling, the folly of New Deal programs from beginning to end, and particularly the evil of their benefits to underprivileged and oppressed. Hand-outs will ruin the working people, who ought to be made to work! Governments are not made to help people or to give anything, only to serve as umpires, etc. Then he led the way into the parlor of his 125-year old house (built by slave labor) at Lynchburg, S. C., and proudly displayed the framed original of a royal grant by George III, in 1747, of 10,000 acres to three of the Smith progenitors: Jesse, Thomas and William. Cotton Ed still owns 2,000 acres of the original domain making him the largest cotton planter in Congress. Sure, grants are not for the needy, but all right for the privileged!

**$25,000 vs. $0.50**

Textile barons have contributed handsomely to Cotton Ed's campaigns and he pays off by opposing legislation that would help textile and other Southern workers. When the Wage and Hour Act was under consideration, Cotton Ed told Congress that fifty cents a day would enable a South Carolina worker to "live comfortably and reasonably." While fighting a floor on wages, Smith is against a ceiling on the income of the privileged, and he opposed the $25,000 net limitation on salaries proposed by the President.

Claiming to be a friend of farmers, Cotton Ed's eye is only for the planter, not the dirt farmer or consumer, witness his support for the Byrd amendment to cripple Farm Security Administration's loans to small farmers. His vote also helped to kill the NYA and the National Resources Planning Board.

The episode most revealing, and best known to the Nation, is Senator Smith's stalking from the Philadelphia Democratic convention in 1936, leading a handful of his followers from the hall, because a Negro preacher was asked to lead the delegates in prayer. Leaving the hall he roared, "This mongrel meeting ain't no place for a white man."

**One Senator's Platform**

Taking personal credit for cotton prices when high, playing up White Supremacy when cotton was low, keeping the "niggers" in their place, defending the purity and sanctity of Southern white womanhood, have always been the foremost items in the Senator's campaign platforms—that, and unreserved promises to take care of farmers. There simply isn't anything else, unless you call an ever-present and all-pervading spirit of antagonism to new ideas, New Dealism, progressive suggestions, which colors all his utterances, an item.

Young Ed prepared for college at the exclusive Stewarts School in Charleston. He attended the University of South Carolina but transferred to Wofford College in Spartanburg where he received a law degree in 1889.

**Riding Cotton**

Smith, for all his uncouthness of speech and presence and his demagogic appeal, was never a man of the Tillman school. Rather, the old order was his guide. Soon after tiring of the routine involved in managing his ancestral estate, he ventured into politics early, and served in the State legislature from 1896 to 1900. He helped with the organization of the Farmers Protective Association in 1901, became field agent and general organizer of the association, later of the Southern Cotton Association, to 1908. Then, cotton near a record low, and the farmer ripe for promises and prejudice, he plunged back into politics and the race for the U. S. Senate. As his campaign proceeded, the price of cotton improved and he was able to cajole the people into believing that he was responsible, a device which he used to advantage in subsequent campaigning. Revealing, also, is the record of his appearance at his first rally. He rode to the meeting on a bale of cotton —ergo, "Cotton Ed."

Senator Smith has been in the Senate since 1909 and if re-elected this year, will move into his seventh term. Seniority has carried him to chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Agriculture. He is 80 years old and might have retired in 1938 but for his resentment of Roosevelt and all the works of the Administration. Age and temperament have made him the most vitriolic, intemperate and choleric assailant of the present Administration, in either party. Recently he established a new low for bad taste when he is reported to have referred to the President of the United States as "that thing."

Senator Smith has been responsible for certain items of good legislation for agriculture, but he has neither knowledge, feeling, understanding or sympathy to commend him for service in the Senate. However, he is more than ever obsessed with a sense of mission, and now, most people feel, wants to die in harness.

> "Intimations that he might die in office, however, did not trouble Cotton Ed. 'If God is a gentleman,' he said, 'He will recognize one when He sees me.'"*

**Dixie Demagogues.* By Allen A. Michie and Frank Ryhlick, Vanguard Press. p. 278.

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Almost 140,000 more people voted in the recent Florida senatorial primaries than in Alabama. Almost 350,000 voted in Fla. which has no poll tax, and a little more than 210,000 in Ala. which has a cumulative poll tax. The two states have almost equal populations of persons over 21, with Ala. having an advantage of about 300,000.

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In addition to health activities covering sanitation, screening, protection of family water supplies, and help for seasonal farm workers, the Farm Security Administration's group health-care plans helped 101,098 families in 1,120 counties, reaching 528,094 persons in 1943. FSA also helped the Department of Agriculture to organize 6 county-wide experimental health associations open to all families earning most of their income from agriculture; 5 of the counties are in the South: Cass and Wheeler in Tex., Nevada in Ark., Newton in Miss., and Walton in Ga.

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BUY EXTRA WAR BONDS
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# George W. Cable - Democrat Spokesman for 'The Silent South'

1944 is the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of George W. Cable, outstanding southern writer. Born in New Orleans, the "son and grandson of slaveholders," Cable, at 14, found himself forced to support his family. He enlisted in the Confederate Cavalry at 19, and served until the war's close.

After holding several odd jobs in his native city, Cable began writing short stories, using material drawn from his own environment, the people and places he knew. New Orleans, before the Civil War, had a large and cultured free colored community, with its own literary journal and philharmonic society. The Creoles, Cajuns and other "foreign" strains all contributed to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city. If school-children today know Cable only for his later novels—sweet, romantic, say-nothing tales, it is only because his earlier, profound and courageous writing on southern problems, is scarcely known to the present generation.

**Let The Silent South Speak**

In a day when the Cotton Ed Smiths and John Rankins seek to speak "in the name of the white people of the South," it is instructive to note Cable's observance that "behind all the fierce conservativism of a noisier element, there was a silent South needing to be urged to speak and act." Cable was a crusading fighter for a more progressive South, better race relations, human welfare and a bold approach to the problems which face us. Between 1884 and 1890 he wrote and spoke against the views of the fanatical "white supremacists' of his day, and their disfranchisement and degrading of Negroes, as part of the plan for maintaining a feudal South. He told them, in words which ring sharply in today's world-wide struggle against fascism, "You are before the judgment seat of the world's intelligence. . ." and "it is always a losing business to be in the wrong."

> **"There is a growing number who see that the one thing we cannot afford to tolerate at large is a class of people less than citizens; and that every interest in the land demands that the freedom be free to become in all things as far as his own personal gifts will lift and sustain him, the same sort of American citizen he should be, if, with the same intellectual and moral calibre, he were white."**

When nine years old, Cable memorized the Declaration of Independence. "Even then," he says, "I remember I was puzzled to know how men could declare such ideal truths and yet hold other men in slavery." Years later, in his collection of essays entitled "The Silent South," he said:

> **". . . to some it may seem unimportant that there is scarcely one public relation of life in the South where he (the Negro) is not arbitrarily and unlawfully compelled to hold toward the white man the attitude of an alien, a menial and a probable reprobate, by reason of his race and color. One of the marvels of future history will be that it was counted a small matter, by a majority of our nation, for 6,000,000 of people within it, made by its own decree a component part of it, to be subjected to a system of oppression so rank that nothing could make it seem small except the fact that they had already been ground under it for a century and a half."**

He deplored the "withholding" of civil and political rights from Negroes, and declared that the colored people must be raised to "the full stature and integrity of citizenship." "We hear much about race instinct. The most of it, I fear, is pure twaddle" and such theories are not "scientifically proven." Cable always displayed courageous honesty in dealing with problems which affected the dreams, aspirations and dignity of millions of his Negro fellow Southerners. Lest we think the reactionary arguments against the granting of simple, human rights to Negroes have changed much, he, too, must deal with "the huge bugbear of Social Equality." Cable replied that such a false issue was only impeding the solution" of the Negro question. Fear of "black supremacy" is unfounded, he explained, because the colored people only ask "the rule of all by all."

**"Is Not Endurance Criminal?"**

In describing the loud-mouthed spokesmen for reactionary views of his day, Cable sounds as if he were speaking in the present.

> **"Must such men, such acts, such sentiments, stand alone before an enlightened world? No. I say, as a citizen of an extreme Southern state, a native of Louisiana, an ex-Confederate soldier, and a lover of my home, my city and my state, as well as of my country, that this is not the best sentiment in the South, nor the sentiment of her best intelligence; and that it would not ride up and down that beautiful land dominating and domineering were it not for its tremendous power as the traditional sentiment of a conservative people. But is not endurance criminal?"**

During the 1880's when Cable worked out his courageous and detailed arguments for a better and united South, and against the backward and feudal theories of his time, there were no clear voices in government, business circles, churches, schools or the labor movement (as there are today) to support him. Cable, a white Southerner, brought to the grasping, dull blindness of the "Gilded Age" an enthusiasm and religious morality for better race relations which was desperately needed. There were, during the two decades before 1900, some splendid instances of colored and white people in the South working on a common program, but nowhere was there such a deep and moral challenge to the feudal structure of the Bourbons, as in Cable's urgent voice in behalf of the "Silent South."

**"Logical" vs. "Geological" Progress**

Cable had to face then, as we still do today, those who agree that there is much to be done if we are to have a more democratic South, but who fear to take immediate steps in that direction. He said they were followers of a "Natural Growth Policy."

> **"There is a school of thought in the South that stands midway between the traditions and are now hampered only by vague ideaes of inexpediency. They pray everybody not to hurry. They have a most enormous capacity for pausing and considering. 'It is a matter', says one of them in a late periodical, 'of centuries rather than decades, of evolution rather than revolution.' The heartlessness of such speeches they are totally unconscious, of. Their prayer is not so much that our steps may be logical as geological. They propose to wait the slow growth of civilization as if it were the growth of rocks, or as if this were the twelfth or thirteenth century. They contemplate progress as if it were a planetary movement to be looked at through the telescope. Why, we are the motive power of progress! Its speed depends upon our courage, integrity and activity. It is an insult to a forbearing God and the civilized world for us to sit in full view of moral and civil wrongs, manifestly bad and curable, saying we must expect this or that, and that, logically considered, we are getting along quite rapidly. Such talk never won a battle or a race, and the hundred years past is long enough for us of the South to have been content with a speed that the rest of the civilized world has left behind."**

—M. R.

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EDITOR
JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

EDITORIAL BOARD
DR. CLARK H. FOREMAN
HELEN FULLER
DR. IRA DE A. REID

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### *SCFHW In Postwar America*

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was a response of the people of the South to the Report to the President on Economic Conditions of the South in 1938. Since that time many changes have taken place in the South, largely as a result of the war. The industrial development has been greatly accelerated by millions of dollars of government money invested in war plants. The skill of the people of the South has been greatly increased not only in the new war plants but also in the armed forces.

The returning soldiers as well as the war workers have every right to expect full employment after the war. They will not accept any political theory that holds that peace must be less generous than war. The Southern Conference is devoted to the goal of the full utilization of our manpower and skill in the post-war world.

In the war thousands of southerners, white and colored, have learned to understand and work with the other race as never before. On the battlefield they have fought as equals; in the officer training camps they have learned, eaten and slept as equals, and the wounded have been treated in the hospitals without discrimination or segregation in the South as in the rest of the world. The Federal government has thus shown in wartime that many of the things which southern prejudice said couldn't be done, can be done safely and with the full approval of the men involved.

After the war the veterans organization that follows the policy of non-discrimination will in the end be the most successful in obtaining for the soldiers those democratic rights for which they will contend. The Southern Conference will support all veterans' organizations which are open to all veterans, and will work with those organizations for the creation of a more prosperous and more democratic South.

Clark Foreman.

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### *The Great Conspiracy*

Realizing that Roosevelt cannot be stopped fairly at the polls, reactionary Southern Democrats are conspiring with Republicans to steal the election. The plan of action revealed in Texas and Mississippi has three steps: 1. Control of the State Democratic Convention. 2. A so-called "uninstructed" delegation to the national convention pledged to "bolt" the party if it does not get its way with respect to the party platform on race, poll tax, and two-thirds rule, or if Roosevelt is nominated. 3. A slate of presidential electors pledged to vote for the Republican candidate if Roosevelt is the Democratic candidate.

The general purpose is to keep Roosevelt from getting a majority of the electoral college vote which will throw the election into the House, and the Senate will select the vice-president.

The first phase of the conspiracy was highly successful. State Chairman George A. Butler, nephew of Jesse Jones, engineered the Texas campaign whereby anti-FDR Democrats and employees of big eastern Republican corporations gained control of the state democratic convention. A group of delegates to the national convention and a slate of presidential electors was named, pledged to "bolt" the party unless they had their way in Chicago, or if Roosevelt is nominated. Pro-Roosevelt forces led by Rep. Lyndon Johnson walked out and named their own delegation.

Charging that "giant special interests" had captured the convention, former Governor James V. Allred declared "it is high time for the people to rise up when a steamroller convention claiming to be democratic, instructs its nominees to bolt unless they get their way."

Former Under Secretary of the Interior, Alvin J. Wirtz, stated that behind the campaign were the Pews, Sinclairs, Gannetts and Aldriches working through Sen. "Pappy" O'Daniel. "The underlying purpose," said Mr. Wirtz, "is to seize the reins of government from the people and set up a fascist state."

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**Georgia Editor Upholds Negro Vote**

"Respecting and obeying the decision of the supreme court declaring the right of Negroes to vote in primary elections is not alone the Christian thing to do; it is the only legal and constitutional course open to fair and law-abiding citizens. . . .

"The race question cannot be solved by denying to Negroes the civil rights guaranteed to them by the constitution. Such a solution is both inconsistent with our own sense of justice and fair play and incompatible with our position in this war. We cannot at the same time wage a war for the freedom of the world and perpetuate oppression at home by suppressing racial minorities. It is not very convincing to fight Hitler for the very thing we ourselves are doing in America."

MACON (GA.) NEWS.

## BOOKS IN BRIEF

### And A Little Child Shall Lead Them

WONDERINGS (Between One And Six Years). By JOHN MASEFIELD. Macmillan, New York. 64 pp., $1.75.

England's poet laureate writes of the child's delight in color, light and sounds, of certain patriarchs, and of the perplexities and searing hurt to a childish mind of slums and poverty. The result is a picture of rural England in the eighties. At the end is a poet-statesman's vision of the world that will rise from the chaos and rubble of the war.

"I loved the light; the colour, scent and sound
Of all the lovely creatures daily found;
The silver leap of fish, the pride and grace
Of red stags running in a grassy place;
I loved the skill of men with bull and horse,
Or blasted rock, or keeping ship on course,
I loved the world I entered all alone
The world of tiny beings all my own. . .

"Then I perceived, that people had a dread
That untaught should be taught, and starving fed.
They were afraid, lest taught and fed should rise
Not on the horrors of their miseries,
Not on their rags, their drunkenness and itch,
Their lice and ignorance, but on the rich.
This common dread amid the general dark
Was social conscience's expiring spark. . .

"Two different races trod the English turf,
The (so-called) Norman, and the (not called) serf.
I saw the rich, like tree-twigs in the light,
The poor, like tree-roots buried in the night.
Uncouthly, uncomplainingly, they mined
To send up sap until the twigs had dined.
The twigs in comfort in the sun and air
Proclaimed that things were perfect as they were
That if the roots were muddy, that must be. . .
Roots must be under mud to grow the tree;
Let roots be muddy and in darkness dig
Let singing-birds and sunlight come to twig.
"The present practice was too good to alter
And those who spoke of change deserved a halter.
Though but a little boy, I argued, then,
That roots and twigs alike were mortal men,
And how shall mortal man in comfort dwell
Seeing his brother mortal shut in hell?

* * *

Life is not milling dust in penny trade,
But art to fashion or to be re-made,
Such, that in every village there shall be
Something that future men shall love to see;
When mortals call, immortal thoughts invade.

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### Tracts For The Times

"THAT MAN" IN THE WHITE HOUSE. By FRANK KINGDON. Arco Publishing Co., New York. 78 pp., paper cover, $1.00.

ARITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION. By ARTHUR DUNN. Guild of American Economists, 38 E. 57th St., N. Y. 103 pp., paper cover, $1.00.

Here are two books you must not miss. They should be required reading for every American. Dr. Kingdon, a minister and former college president writes about Franklin D. Roosevelt against the background of the major issues in the 1944 election.

Arthur Dunn, a noted corporation lawyer and economist, is also concerned with the election but primarily with helping plain people to understand the basic economic problems of the modern world. What is going to happen when 20 million men from the armed services and war plants compete for jobs in the postwar world? Will we have a repetition of the Hoover-Coolidge catastrophe or can we have full employment and abundance for all? These and many other problems will become clearer after you have read this book.

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### Mailed Fist In Tennessee

THE BIG BOSSES. By CHARLES VAN DEVANDER. Howell, Soskin, New York. 318 pp., $2.50.

On March 31 a Negro pastor of Memphis, Rev. G. A. Long, defied Boss Ed Crump by permitting A. Phillip Randolph to speak in his church.

"I would have Mr. Crump to know that I am an ambassador of Jesus Christ and take orders only from Him," said Rev. Long.

Then came the mailed fist. Rev. Long was ordered by the fire marshal to make certain repairs to the church building to comply with the city code.

It takes courage to defy Mr. Crump. Those who have tried it have been hounded out of the city and the state.

Here is an example taken from Mr. Van DeVander's book:

> "Crump controlled the Negro vote through a Negro lieutenant. But when his agent grew restless and began to show signs of independence, Crump threw a police line in front of the man's establishment, had every person entering it searched, and so effectively wrecked the man's business that he gave up and moved to Chicago."

Mr. Van DeVander writes of political bosses in all parts of the country but he gives Tennessee "the unenviable distinction of being America's most bossed state in 1944."

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### Economic Democracy

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE NEGRO. By HERBERT R. NORTHRUP. Harper & Bros., N. Y. 312 pp., $3.50.

"The greatest shortcoming in making America a land of opportunity is represented by the barriers which we have imposed against Negroes," writes Professor Slichter of Harvard in his foreword to this timely and important book. In the drive to eliminate these barriers, greatest progress has been made educationally and politically, and the least economically.

In his struggle for economic democracy, the Negro's most powerful ally is organized labor. However the policies of unions differ radically from total exclusion to complete acceptance. In understanding this problem the present volume is invaluable.

Following an overall picture, the author presents a careful summary of the situation in the building trades, railroads, tobacco, textiles, clothing, laundry, coal mining, iron and steel, longshoremen, automobile and aircraft, and shipping unions. Unfortunately no account appears of the pioneer work done in the field of race by the National Maritime and the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

A concluding chapter contains some excellent suggestions for democratic action.

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### World Organization

ROAD TO PEACE AND FREEDOM. By IRVING BRANT. Bobbs-Merrill Co., New York. 278 pp., $2.00.

Irving Brant, one of the keenest commentators on political, social and economic problems, has written a provocative book on the basic questions confronting us in our domestic issues in the election year of 1944, in making the peace and in establishing a world organization of nations.

## $500,000,000 Annual Handout To Railroads At Taxpayers' Expense

From $250,000,000 to $500,000,000 a year will be handed over to the railroads at the expense of the taxpayers, under the terms of bill (H. R. 4184) passed by the House May 23 and sponsored by Rep. Boren of Oklahoma. The vote was 236 to 16. The bill now goes to the Senate.

H. R. 4184 will relieve the railroads from their agreement to give the Government a 50% reduction in rates on the transportation of military personnel and supplies in return for gifts of public lands. It is this agreement which permits soldiers to purchase furlough tickets at half-fare.

**Freight Rates**

Rep. W. R. Poage of Texas, who led the fight against the bill, failed in his efforts to amend it so as to compel the railroads to equalize freight rates in all parts of the country, ending the discrimination which now exists against the South and West.

**Area Size of 7 States—Free**

Between 1850 and 1870 Congress gave to thirty-odd railroads 130,303,688 acres of public land, roughly 10% of the total area of the United States, as an inducement to build. In addition Texas gave 33,000,000 acres and other states 15,000,000. The total land-grants represented an area larger than the combined area of 7 Southern states (Va., N. C., S. C., Tenn., Ala., Miss., La.). Much of this land was sold by the railroads for between $400,000,000 and $500,000,000, or a subsidy of about $20,000 for every mile of railroad built.

Under the original land-grant contracts a railroad built with such government subsidy was to "be a public highway for the use of the Government of the United States, free from any toll or other charge upon the transportation of any property or troops."

**70 Year Fight Against Contract**

The fight of the railroads to free themselves from this contract has continued for 70 years. First they got the courts to interpret the contract to mean that the Government should have the use of the roadbed free but pay for the rolling stock used. Later the courts held that the Government should pay 50% of the regular rates. This arrangement held until 1940 when the railroads persuaded Congress to relieve them of all obligations except transportation of persons and property "for military and naval and not for civil use." In 1942 the railroads had a bill introduced into Congress relieving them entirely from the terms of the land-grant contracts. The bill was defeated. Now comes Rep. Boren's bill.

War Department witnesses have testified that if the bill were passed, the Department would have to come back to Congress and ask for $200,000,000 more for 1945 to pay the higher freight bill.

Only other Southerner to give Rep. Poage help in his fight against the bill was another Texan, Rep. Russell.

Speakers for the railroad-grab bill, in addition to Boren of Okla., included May and Robinson of Ky., Fish of N. Y., Hoffman of Mich., and Mansfield of Texas. Rep. Jennings of Tenn. said he would vote for the bill "to keep the railroads solvent."

**No Protection For Shipping Public**

The bill requires the Interstate Commerce Commission merely to "take into consideration" the cancellation of the land-grant rates in setting future rates. An amendment by Rep. Poage which would have protected the shipping public by making mandatory a reduction in rates corresponding to the increased earnings of the railroads was voted down. Another Poage amendment requiring the railroads to return to the Government all public lands still in their possession (about 16,000,000 acres) also was turned down.

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## Georgia School Teacher Describes Her First Farmers Union Meeting

As the wife of a country school teacher in Georgia, I know something of the hardships of our farmers as they struggle in their cotton fields to make a modest living for their families. I could understand the spirit of hopelessness that had settled over our community.

Suddenly talk began about organizing. A few of the men had visited another part of Georgia where a Farmers Union was going strong.

Meetings began at the school house. I persuaded two or three women to go with me to one of the meetings.

**Farmers Skeptical**

The meeting got off to a bad start. The farmers were skeptical. There was even a little jeering. A well-dressed farmer got up and said, "Look here, men, what are y'all tryin' to do—resurrect a corpse? I helped bury the Farmer's Union 30 years ago." Laughter ran around the room. The men began to get restless.

Then a little old man got up and asked to say a few words. The group stirred impatiently, but the chairman said, "Sure, go ahead; the floor's open to anybody."

No one had noticed this old fellow, dressed in overalls and brogan shoes. He had no teeth and was bald.

Standing quietly, hands in his pockets, he began, "Some of you men don't know me. I'm just an old farmer—live back here in the woods. Worked all my life on a farm. Know the problems and the hopes and sorrows of the farming class of people."

**A Member for 30 Years**

Straightening up, he thrust out his chin. "I was a member of the Farmer's Union 30 years ago. And I went through this country helping organize.

The little man's excited voice was rising and falling. "Trouble with the farmer is he uses his back too much and he don't use his brains a'tall. You take your cotton in to the buyer. It's the cotton that you and your whole family worked with so long. You stand there and hang your head. Then he says what he'll give you and you say 'Yes, sir.' He tells you to haul it on down to the warehouse where he weighs it and gives you just what he wants to."

The people in the room were all impressed by now. He stopped and gave them a hard look and went on. "You go to the store to buy some overalls. The man who owns the store tells you the price and stands there with that take-it-or-leave-it look. You pay him his price and get the stuff."

He stamped his foot and shouted, "What kind of business is that?—Let me tell you something, men. You aint got no business. You done sit back and let every body else do your business for you and tell you just what to do. When you gonna wake up and start usin' your own brains?"

**"You Gotta Work Together"**

He was calm now and had resumed the humble pose with which he had started . "You gotta work together," he said. "You can't stand alone. If you don't get together you're all lost."

Mr. Ballinger explained the urgent need for organizing. While telling them how to go about it, he insisted that the women be in on it, too. When he was through with his talk, he sat down saying, "I guess I talked too much." But the men gave him loud applause; and promptly started making plans for him to talk in other communities.

About three weeks later, our community turned out for a big barbecue. The farmers received their Farmer's Union Charter. I took pains to see that Mr. Ballinger had plenty of good stuff to eat. . . . He had a good time at the gathering. I watched him, and wondered if he knew what an important thing he had done in helping to establish the union and in uniting our community for cooperative action.—D. B.